THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 166 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 10, 1948 NUMBER 15

E. R. P. and War?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF THE foreign policy of the United States could be subdivided into unrelated categories carrying such labels as "political strategy" and "military preparation" and "economic aid," one could welcome the adoption of E. R. P. with only a few misgivings. One could say: Sixteen nations are going to receive $6,098,000,000 to help restore their economies and so reduce the danger that they may accept totalitarian control. One could even say: Millions of people will have jobs and more to eat; fewer children will die of tuberculosis; fewer men and women will find their politics dictated by hunger. Assuming the money Congress has appropriated is sufficient to set going an upward spiral in Britain and on the Continent, then one could find, within the category labeled "economic aid," cause for satisfaction. This is the kind of weapon the United States should wield: it should help put Europe on its way to a stable economic future, depending on the good sense of people freed from the whip of hunger to refuse the security-plus-police program of the extreme left or the police-minus-security program of the extreme right. In so far as this hope is still embodied in E. R. P., we can be glad it was adopted by both Houses without further delay and with no worse mutilations than the Representatives managed to inflict.

Unhappily, we must hedge even this limited investment in hope. American Foreign policy is not departmentalized: it is one immense mish-mash, in which categories run together and lose shape and meaning. The idea of helping Europe to help itself, and so—but incidentally, and almost politely—resist Communist aggression, was caught in a political crossfire long before Czechoslovakia laid down its democracy. American pressure induced both the Italian and French governments to eject Communists almost a year ago. And Western Germany, without benefit of government or peace treaty, was headed into the Marshall Plan before there *was* a Marshall Plan, for increased German production under private management and American control was essential to a concept of economic revival which ruled out in practice the spread of socialism. (General Clay's recent decision to check and limit decartelization is a natural sequel to the ruling against nationalization.)

But this is an old, pre-Prague story; hardly more than an arrow pointing a direction. The degree to which politics and military plans today dominate economic aid is amply illustrated by the inclusion in the final E. R. P. bill of the military appropriations for Greece and China. This chunk of $425,000,000 links Truman Doctrine to Marshall Plan in an indissoluble whole. Guns, goods, dollars—all are lumped together, along with the military-political purposes they represent.

Russia has helped bring this about. The Communist coup in Prague and Moscow's pressure on Finland have convinced many doubting observers that only a quick military rebuttal will prevent Moscow from seizing effective control in one Western European country after another. The real militarists have been able to marshal new evidence in support of their case for a long-range program of armament, conscription, and a foreign policy geared for war. And on the Continent, the Western nations have hastily cemented economic and defensive relationships and have sent urgent requests to Washington for military guarantees. E. R. P. has become a side show; preparation for war is the circus.

Perhaps Stalin can be scared back by the rapid consolidation of anti-Russian feeling in America and the certainty that military measures will be shoved through. On the other hand, the whipping up of war fever here—Soviet U-boats in the Pacific, Marshall's call for an all-hemisphere Red hunt, the tirades against Russia by loud-mouthed politicians like Joe Martin—may tend to stiffen the already rigid backs of the men in the Kremlin. Presumably, they do not want war; they must know that a war with the United States will end in Soviet defeat; but if they become convinced that the American people are being deliberately conditioned to the prospect of conflict and that American foreign policy is exclusively directed against the Soviet Union, they may conclude that no escape route through compromise remains open. In that case, they will extend and tighten their domination over the Continent so that when war comes they can occupy every key point in Western Europe. Their provocative action in Berlin suggests this course.

At the same time, Washington's preparations for war—material and psychological—coupled with a fiercely reactionary foreign policy make an equally explosive mixture. Not only is E. R. P. now tied to military measures that alter the very essence of its original purpose, but both are part of a plan of political action revealed most recently in our behavior in Palestine and Spain.

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
E.R.P. and War? *by Freda Kirchwey* 385
The Shape of Things 387
Cartoon: "Going Our Way?" *by Ezekiel Schloss* 387

ARTICLES
Politics and People: Eisenhower and the Liberals *by Robert Bendiner* 388
The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism: Part I *by Paul Blanshard* 390
The "Reform" of Soviet Music *by Alexander Werth* 393
Cartoon: "I Forbid the Banns!" *by David Low* 394
The Farmer's New Economy *by James Hearst* 395
Science Notebook: Isotopes on Strings *by Leonard Engel* 396
Everybody's Business: Inter-American Economics *by Keith Hutchinson* 397
The French Battle of Prices *by Del Vayo* 398

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Farley and Roosevelt *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 399
A Matter of Style *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 400
Theme and Variations *by Joseph Kraft* 400
The Pangs *A poem by Rolphe Humphries* 401
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 402
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 403

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 258 *by Frank W. Lewis* 404

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The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic — One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

AMERICAN intervention in Greece has shown how hard it is to support reaction in a civil struggle without becoming totally committed to reaction. In Italy, because of past policies as well as present partisan pressures, the best we can hope for out of a left defeat on April 18 will be a coalition ruled by clericals and near-fascists, armed against popular discontent with American guns and money.

The same fatal choice is being made at this hour in Palestine. There, in defiance of our own unequivocal commitment to partition and an independent Jewish state, we have forced the calling of a new special session of the General Assembly to take up again an issue that had been debated through two Assembly meetings and decided in the end by a two-thirds majority. We talk in the Security Council about bloodshed and the impossibility of imposing partition. But in private, and even in press conferences, our officials talk oil and bases. No longer are the Americans interested in Arab incursions into Palestine or Britain's open sabotage of partition. The old theory that only Russia obstructs the United Nations has been buried under our own cynical repudiation of a U. N. decision that now, in the minds of our military overlords, conflicts with national strategic interests. Nothing matters any more but the construction of a front against Russia, even if the front has to be manned by a primitive, feudal oligarchy, and the Jews have to be sacrificed.

The erasure of the clause including Franco in the House E. R. P. measure repaired a tactical error committed by the egregious Mr. O'Konski and overwhelmingly backed by his fellow legislators. It did not change the basic fact: Spain will be brought into E. R. P. unless the Sixteen Nations refuse to allow it. The House vote was embarrassing and premature because the State and Defense departments are hard at work trying to bring about some sort of "democratic" face-lifting in Madrid and at the same time negotiate for bases in Spain. We shall print more about this soon, but I can say now without qualification that a military-political-economic deal is in the making, and that Myron Taylor's visit to Madrid is only one facet of our dealings with Franco.

The attitude expressed in American policy in Palestine, Greece, Italy, and Spain provides a grim setting for the European Recovery Program. One can hardly hope that better counsels will prevail in Washington: they are nowhere to be found in the highest reaches of the present Administration. Only a firm refusal by the Sixteen Nations to allow the threat of Russian-American conflict to divert them from the task of creating a planned Continental economy, including the Eastern countries, will save E. R. P. from becoming a new pre-war lend-lease. What hope remains lies, not in the plans of Moscow or Washington, but in Western Europe that sees little to gain by serving as an air base for America or an industrial colony of the Soviet Union.

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The Shape of Things

[As the lock-out in the commercial printing industry continues into its second week, we are limited again to a twenty-four-page issue, composed in a union shop that has no quarrel with the ITU. We hope the dispute will be settled soon, and that this is our last "emergency" issue.]

THE UNITED NATIONS ATOMIC ENERGY Commission appears to have ended its present efforts to arrive at a compromise agreement on atomic control, and may soon adjourn indefinitely. Early this week, the commission was to vote whether or not to continue discussion of the Soviet proposals. As we write, the result can be foretold, for last week the Russian proposals were denounced as useless in a report prepared by British, Canadian, Chinese, and French delegates, and lauded for its "thoroughness and solidity" by Frederick H. Osborn, the American delegate. It is true that there are grave weaknesses in the Soviet plan, which provides only for limited inspection and reference of violations to the Security Council, but these defects are by-products of the splitting of the world. As long as that split exists, Russia's refusal to accept an international atomic-energy board, as proposed by the United States, is to be expected. Such a board would have great economic powers, particularly over the peace-time uses of atomic energy, and the Soviet Union would have minority representation on it at best. It may be argued that the Russians would gain more than they would risk by submitting their atomic development to international inspection and control, since every nation, the United States in particular, would be similarly supervised. But this sort of logic ignores Russia's defensive and jealous guardianship over its methods, its system, and, even more, its stage of industrial development. Agreement on atomic control will be impossible until there is general Soviet-American agreement on even more fundamental issues.

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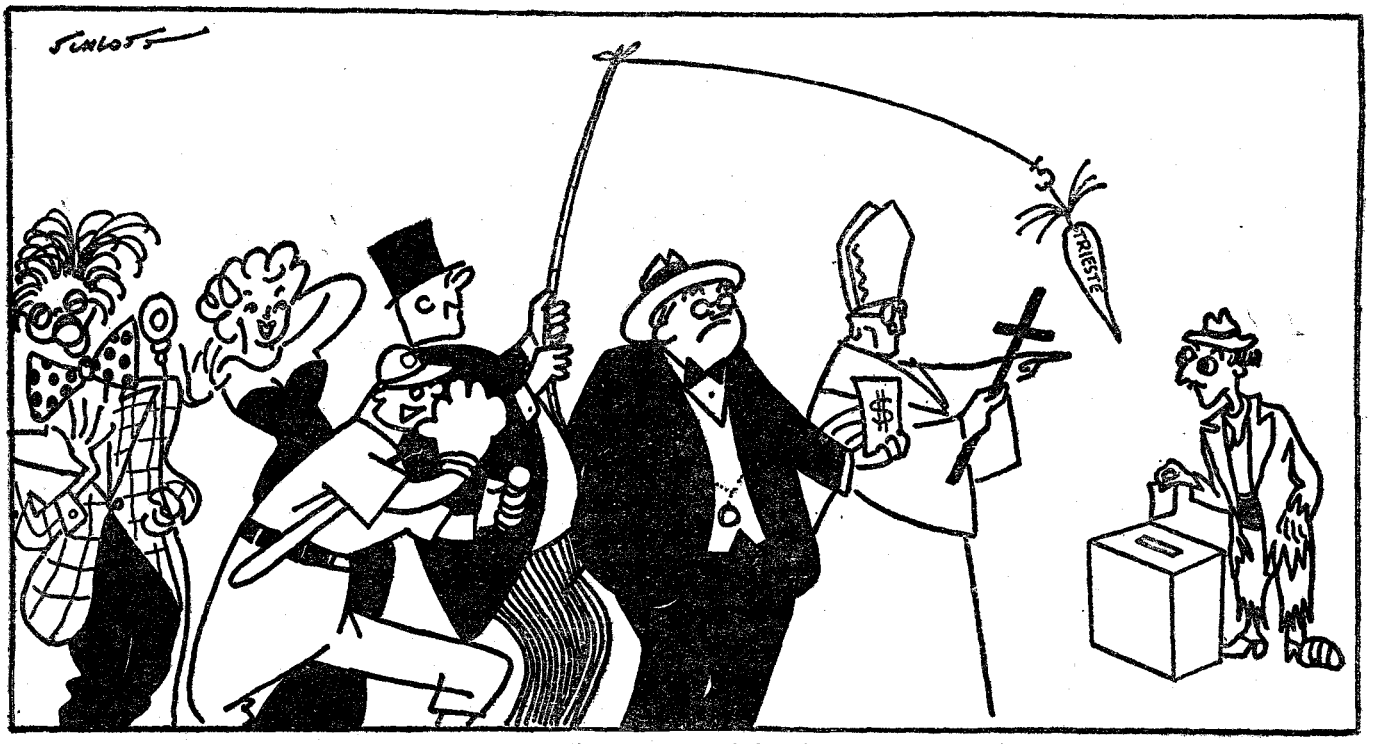
"TREASON AGAINST THE UNITED STATES," says the Constitution, "shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Treason, said Senator Wayne Morse last week, is the indictment that would have to be brought against any one who might refuse to take part in a military-training program until Jim Crow is driven out of the armed forces. The Senator gave this warning to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, after Randolph told the Senate Armed Services Committee that he pledged himself to "counsel, aid, and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow conscription system." Randolph gravely forecast that "a Jim Crow draft may only result in a mass civil-disobedience movement." When Morse—a liberal Republican who supports strong civil-rights legislation—uttered the threat of indictments for treason, Randolph replied that the civil-disobedience campaign would employ "non-resistance, non-cooperation, and non-participation" but "no overt acts." "Many overt acts would result," Morse persisted, and Randolph agreed but said they would all be directed against Negroes. "That's a price we have to pay to get our democratic rights," he added. American Negroes are pretty well accustomed to terror; the day after Morse and Randolph exchanged views, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wired the Senator: "Negro veterans returned home to be terrorized . . . lynched . . . denied the ballot . . . slandered on the floor of the United States Congress. . . . There is sympathy in many hearts for the Randolph point of view. The remedy is not to threaten treason trials, but to give these loyal citizens the democracy they are expected and asked to



"Going Our Way?"

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die to defend." Mr. White has prescribed the correct remedy. If U. M. T. goes through without military reform, any American, colored or white, who refuses to serve in a Jim Crow army will be giving aid and comfort, not to our enemies, but to our own lunatic selves.

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HOWEVER THE LETTER OF THE LAW MAY BE interpreted, we fail to see how the Taft bill for federal aid to education conforms to the spirit of a decision handed down by the Supreme Court only a month ago. The bill permits federal funds to be expended on private and parochial schools in states that already permit such expenditures of state funds. The court, in an eight-to-one decision against the Board of Education of Champaign, Illinois, held that "the First Amendment rests upon the premise that both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere." The "wall between church and state," which the court thought should "be kept high and impregnable," is certainly impaired by legislation that permits the states to divert taxpayers' money to the support of parochial, as well as public, schools no matter what the particular use to which the money is put. We realize, of course, that the Taft bill, which will almost certainly have been passed by the Senate when this issue of *The Nation* reaches its readers, is the better of the alternatives offered. The bill originally introduced by Senator Aiken of Vermont would have allowed *all* states to apply the federal funds to parochial schools, and Senator McMahon of Connecticut tried to amend the Taft bill to the same effect. The sad truth is that the pressure of the Catholic church is strong enough to impose a choice between the Taft bill or none at all. So desperate is the need for financial help to the public schools, particularly in the poorer states, that one can only be thankful for the promise of assistance, hoping that eventually the courts will rule once and for all on whether or not parochial schools can legally be included in the distribution of public funds.

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NEW YORK'S STOCK AND CURB EXCHANGES —two of the last strongholds of anti-unionism—suffered the indignity of picket lines last week when clerical and other workers belonging to the United Financial Employees, A. F. of L., struck for higher wages and union security. The affair has its humorous aspects, such as the spectacle of heads of brokerage houses bending their well-pressed pants to mop up the trading floors, but in essence it is a grim struggle in which the rather weak white-collar union deserves all the help other labor organizations can give. On the second day of the dispute, there was a bloody fracas outside the Stock Exchange. A report of the American Civil Liberties Union states that pickets exceeded their lawful rights by lying down to block the entrance to the building, but adds that the behavior of the police, who charged wildly with their clubs, was "vicious and uncalled for." The union's claim that their members are grossly underpaid can hardly be contested. Current weekly wages range from $27 to $61.50, with an average of $40. The Stock Exchange has rejected demands for increases of $9 to $15 and offered $3 to $5. Although these figures are far apart, compromise is not impossible. But on the question of the union shop, the financial bosses are adamant. They resent the presence of any union organization in Wall Street and are determined to maintain an open shop at all costs. So far, the exchanges have managed to carry on, with some help from scabs recruited from the various brokerage offices, although the volume of trading has been above the recent normal. But paradoxically, a succession of "big days" might help a settlement. On the one hand, it would overstrain the make-shift staffs in present use; on the other, it would swell brokerage profits, which have been meager for some time, and so ease negotiations, at least on wages.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Eisenhower and the Liberals

Washington, April 1

THE second Eisenhower blaze to light up the 1948 campaign may soon be damped down, but there is no indication that, like the first, it will be deliberately extinguished. On the contrary, the evidence is strong that the General is receptive to the Democratic nomination—on condition that he need not appear to seek it. If the blaze is checked, it will be because the draft-Eisenhower leaders want the fires banked for reasons of strategy.

For a few days last week, the draft-Eisenhower movement made such sweeping strides that it looked as though nothing could withstand it—and perhaps nothing can. Apart from the mushrooming of new "grassroots" groups, there was, first, the switch of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., from the Truman camp and the strong indication that Eleanor Roosevelt was not unsympathetic to the move. Then came the sensational break of Jake Arvey, boss of the Chicago Democratic machine, and the rumblings that O'Dwyer and Flynn in New York would soon follow suit. At the same time, unfounded reports had Americans for Democratic Action already committed to Eisenhower, and the Liberal Party of New York did, in fact, make the plunge. High officials of the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee were known to be instructing their field workers to cultivate the "draft" movement, and predictions were flatly made that Philip Murray himself would soon come out openly for the General. Congressional Democrats, gravely threatened by Wallace entries in their respective campaigns, warmed their enfeebled hopes at the cheering blaze, and there were reports that in California the volatile Bob Kenny would soon abandon Wallace and the P. C. A. for the draft-Eisenhower campaign.

As this is written, Murray has yet to commit the C. I. O. The best information is that he will not do so, at least at this time, although he is personally sold on Eisenhower and sees his candidacy as the only hope of electing a liberal Congress. It may be assumed

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that he will look with favor on the rise of Eisenhower sentiment from below. Arvey's bolt-Truman move, received with cold annoyance at Democratic headquarters, has not been attempted by other local bosses, and James Roosevelt is still holding California's rambunctious Democratic machine in line, though there is reason to believe he will not be able to do so for long.

In the A. D. A., too, a cooling-off period seems to have set in. It now appears that if the special meeting called for April 10 in Pittsburgh results in a draft-Eisenhower resolution, it will be because of strong sentiment among the chapter delegates rather than top officials, though some of the latter unquestionably lean toward the General. It should be said, in passing, that the cooling off in high A. D. A. circles is not altogether a matter of strategy. Some members appear to feel strongly that an organization based on a political program cannot readily plump for a candidate whose stand on major issues remains a top secret. Among these members, the feeling for William O. Douglas is still running strong, and it is not at all improbable that both Eisenhower and Douglas will be declared acceptable candidates.

From the flood of developments, a pattern is beginning to emerge that may be regarded as the Eisenhower campaign strategy, though it would be unfair to assume that the General himself is consciously pursuing it. At the core of this strategy is the conviction that Eisenhower must avoid any open recognition of the campaign in his behalf for as long as possible, and that those who want him to run must cooperate to this end. What is wanted is a mounting rank-and-file demand throughout the country which at no point along the way would require the General's acknowledgment. At the same time, whatever efforts may be made by professional politicians to line up delegates, commitments by established organizations or their top officials are to be frowned upon, since they either call for some word on his part or imply a private understanding. It is easy enough for Eisenhower to take no official note of a resolution adopted by a plumbers' local in Zanesville, but his hand would certainly be forced if labor's top chiefs, the A. D. A., and an appreciable number of party bosses and outstanding New Dealers followed the lead of the Liberal Party and Jake Arvey.

Why should this vow of silence be so crucial a part of the pro-Eisenhower strategy? First, because the General is probably genuinely opposed to taking the nomination in the absence of an uncultivated and overwhelming demand among the voters, and in no circumstances does he want to find himself under obligation to a particular group or machine, whatever its complexion. In short, if he wants the Presidency at all—and I believe he does—he wants it with a minimum of politics.

Beyond this consideration, it is true that Eisenhower could say nothing at this moment that would not hurt his cause. If he is compelled to take a stand now, only three courses are open to him. He can repeat the statement he made to the Republicans in January. He can sharpen that renunciation to Shermanesque proportions. Or he can, in effect, declare himself a candidate. The first would take him out of the race, unless the country faces an emergency of the first magnitude—such as the certain imminence of war. The second would remove him without qualification. And the third would be a reversal of his January position which few would regard as warranted by events and which would therefore cost him something in prestige.

In the light of this strategy, last week's statement by General Parks fits perfectly into the pattern. It has served to reduce the pro-Eisenhower talk in high places, but by no means to end it. Had Eisenhower wanted to deflate the Democratic boom as effectively as he did the Republican, it would have been a simple matter to repeat the statements he made to Leonard V. Finder instead of leaving that task to an aide, who made a point of explaining that he had not been authorized to give it out.

Granted the peculiarity of Eisenhower's position, the strategy is fraught with difficulty. I put no stock in those categorical statements of political experts that Eisenhower's cause is made hopeless by the nature of convention machinery. It is far from impossible that, on the eve of the convention, President Truman will be asked to release delegations already committed to him. Whether or not they are officially released, they might consider themselves so and join uncommitted delegations from the North and avowedly anti-Truman delegations from the South. With Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, and California at the top of the roll-call, as one highly placed Democrat put it to me, a psychological stampede could be started that would be hard to resist. In any event, it might well produce enough of a defection to deny Mr. Truman a majority on the first ballot, and that is all that is needed to create the necessary vacuum.

The real difficulty confronting the Eisenhower people, it seems to me, will be to go on selling a silent candidate. It is all very well for a Mississippi Congressman to shop for a winner, but a trade-unionist or a member of A. D. A. will want to know how his candidate proposes to ward off an economic crash, provide social security, deal with the Russians, and save us all from atomic fission. Liberal and labor organizations will find it next to impossible to mark time throughout the campaign while waiting for the General to speak out on these matters. Yet if they commit themselves too soon, they may find themselves saddled with a candidate they don't want. And if they wait too long, they may have no alternative but to support a candidate who owes his nomination not to them but to a combination of Southern conservatives and Northern machine politicians. They can escape the dilemma only by making conditional commitments while at the same time cultivating other possibilities.

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One further block to an Eisenhower nomination, which highly placed Democrats are not overlooking, is that Mr. Truman, in spite of a severe case of Potomac fever, may yield on the eve of the convention, provided he can designate his heir. In that case, his first choice would certainly not be Eisenhower. Neither, in all likelihood, would it be Vinson. The President admires the Chief Justice, but his Virginia-Kentucky background hardly fits him to put up a fight for the Truman civil-rights program, which, in spite of everything, is a genuine concern of the President's. Assuming he could be persuaded to accept it, the mantle would probably fall on the shoulders of General Marshall, for whom Mr. Truman entertains a feeling akin to hero-worship—and that might prove the last dilemma that breaks the liberal's back.

The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

With this first article in a new series, Paul Blanshard turns again to a consideration of the ways in which Roman Catholic doctrine affects fields of conduct that are or ought to be the concern of the state and of the people generally. His three famous articles of last fall—The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex, and Education—aroused national attention, got The Nation *banned from the schools of Newark, N. J., and were in such demand that 50,000 pamphlet reprints had to be made. As previously, Mr. Blanshard writes here in the conviction that Catholics are good citizens who are not responsible for the undemocratic policies of their hierarchy, and who will some day realize that they must demand a change in those policies.*

Due to production difficulties incurred during the present lock-out in the commercial printing industry, we are forced to present this first article by Mr. Blanshard in sections. Another instalment will appear next week. Further articles in the series will deal with the Roman Catholic church and Politics, Science, and Censorship. Mr. Blanshard is the author of "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean," and served as head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia.

I.

IN THE public discussions of the critical elections to be held in Italy on April 18, one important question has been almost wholly ignored in the United States: What kind of government will the Vatican build in Italy if the right is completely victorious?

That the Vatican is trying to bring to power a conservative, pro-clerical regime is obvious. It is no longer attempting to conceal its partisan rôle in European politics. In Italy, the priests are telling the people how to vote and how not to vote, with a reckless disregard for the provision in the Lateran Treaty which prohibits priests from partisan political activity. The New York *Times* reports that Cardinal Schuster of Milan has excommunicated a priest for taking part in left-wing meetings, and has instructed the clergy of his diocese to refuse absolution to "Communists or members of other movements contrary to the Catholic religion."

The Associated Press cabled on March 3 that eighteen archbishops and fifty-five bishops of southern Italy had issued a pastoral letter to their flocks saying that "nobody can at the same time be a good Catholic and a Socialist." "Already," says the Brooklyn *Tablet* in a dispatch from Rome, "the 4,500,000 members of Italian Catholic Action are being mobilized to insure victory for the Christian Democratic Party and the defeat of the People's Democratic Front, a coalition of Communists and left-wing Socialists." "The thousands of parish priests," says the New York *Times*, "are concentrating their efforts on the women voters, who are regarded as generally more strongly attached to religion than are the men."

Probably Pope Pius XII, who is a shrewd political strategist, knows exactly what he is doing in backing the conservatives so openly. He reasons that, in view of Western commitments, he cannot lose as long as he is opposing communism. He has his ear tuned to American public opinion, and the American public has completely forgotten fascism in the panic caused by Communist aggression. Post-war America, in fact, seems to be suffering so acutely from emotional fatigue that it cannot muster the energy to pursue two villains at once.

The Communists themselves, of course, are largely to blame for this strange dénouement. They have not only frightened the Western world by their aggressiveness but have muddled the anti-fascist forces of the West by their semantic inanities. By using the word "fascist" as a rogues'-gallery label for all their enemies, they have not only whitened the word but have created a new disposition in the West to be charitable to the underlying pro-clerical and pro-fascist concepts. "After all," many honest anti-fascists are saying, "communism is the present danger. The Roman Catholic church may be superstitious and reactionary but it *is* an enemy of communism. Why not forget fascism for the moment, take one danger at a time, and go along with the conservative policy of the church until we see daylight?"

The Catholic hierarchy in the United States is taking full advantage of this new and unexpected ben-

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evolence. It nominates itself as arch enemy of America's arch enemy, communism; and simultaneously it is building the legend that it has always been opposed to fascism. It is adding to the current semantic babel by using the word "fascist" almost as carelessly as the Communists use it. In American Catholic parlance today, "fascist" is a general-utility cuss-word, applied loosely to any non-Communist who is critical of the Roman Catholic church and also wants more state control of social and educational institutions. The word is rarely applied by Catholics to Franco, Peron, or Salazar.

IN VIEW of the confusion and the importance of the issues involved, it is worth while asking certain fundamental questions concerning the Roman Catholic church and its record in dealing with fascism. Is the church fascist? Has it actually opposed European fascism? Has it collaborated? Has it changed its attitude since the war? Can we afford to ignore its relations with fascism even temporarily in order to resist Communist aggression more effectively? Can we trust the Vatican to use *any* victory in Europe to extend democracy?

As in my previous articles, I shall rely chiefly on Catholic sources of information for the answers. Many Roman Catholics, in fact, will agree with almost everything I say, and they can do this in good conscience because they are not bound by the purely political decisions of their hierarchy. I am sure that millions of American Catholics would adopt as their own the statement made by the Catholic writer, William Teeling, in 1937, in his "Pope Pius XI and World Affairs": "The political policy of Rome seems to become more and more identified with organizations on totalitarian lines. That Rome should feel it wise to work with dictators is not regarded happily by those democratic countries who are striving against dictatorship at every turn."

The American Catholic hierarchy is especially sensitive about this type of criticism because it has an acute sense of guilt about fascism. To overcome that sense of guilt, it is making wild and unfounded claims concerning the Vatican's alleged anti-fascist record. "It is beyond dispute," says a 1944 pamphlet ("Is the Pope Fascist?" issued by the Catholic Information Society under the Imprimatur of Cardinal Spellman), "that the Pope was the only [*sic*] world leader before 1939 to speak out fearlessly and dogmatically against the twin evils of fascism and nazism."

Presumably, this pamphlet marshals the best evidence available to support this astounding claim and to demonstrate that the Vatican is not fascist. Yet it does not mention Franco, Argentina, Tiso, the Ethiopian war, or the corporate state; and the quotations from the Popes themselves not only ignore these subjects but fail to mention democracy, the principle of dictatorship, or Mussolini's and Hitler's methods in destroying democratic political opposition. Both the pamphlet and the two Popes quoted, Pius XI and Pius XII, ignore the one great force in Europe which opposed fascism most consistently, the Socialist movement. Although the popes are represented as speaking fearlessly and dogmatically against fascism, there is not a quotation in the pamphlet which is specific, fearless, or dogmatic in condemning the two primary doctrines of fascism, political dictatorship and the corporate state. With one exception, the quoted "criticisms" of fascism are simply counterattacks upon Mussolini and Hitler for their encroachments upon the educational and political preserves of the Catholic church itself.

In one respect, of course, the pamphlet is correct. The Pope is not *specifically* fascist. No pope has ever stood up and said publicly, "I am a fascist." Nor, for that matter, has any pope ever said, "I am a democrat." Popes do not commit themselves in that fashion when they have faithful subjects on both sides of a war or political conflict. It is a necessary part of papal political technique to be general and vague concerning the forms of state control when the institution of the Catholic church needs the support of dictators as well as presidents.

Moreover, no one can say legitimately that the majority of American Catholics have ever been fascist, or that the American hierarchy is fascist *at the present time*. (There may have been legitimate doubt about the hierarchy in the thirties.) The Coughlins, the Currans, and the Christian Front are not representative of American Catholicism today. American Catholics who fought in the last war were just as heartily anti-fascist as their comrades, and no one can question their

Pius XII

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loyalty or heroism. Unfortunately, it must be pointed out, at the risk of seeming ungrateful, that there were more Catholics who fought against the United States in the last war than for it, and the church blessed them all with equal unction. Naturally, the Pope, as the Primate of Italy, blessed his own people with considerable warmth when they fought against our armed forces. He also blessed German soldiers in uniform at the Vatican several times during the war, and the benediction was duly noted by the semi-official Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*. He did not protest when the Italian Catholic bishops enthusiastically wired Mussolini their hope that he would "crown the unfailing victory of our arms by planting the Italian flag over the Holy Sepulchre"—noted by the *Herald Tribune* of June 28, 1940. These unpleasant episodes are called to mind only to show that the question of the Vatican's relations with fascism cannot be disposed of by emotional references to Catholic heroes without raising the awkward query: Which heroes?

THE Catholic hierarchy did not seriously oppose the seizure of power by Mussolini in Italy in 1922, nor urge its people to come to the defense of democratic institutions, nor specifically declare its opposition to dictatorship. Pius XI, who became Pope after serving as Archbishop of Milan, shortly before Mussolini's march on Rome, was noted for his distrust of democracy, and was so definitely anti-Socialist that he declared in his encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," that "socialism conceives human society in a way utterly alien to Christian truth. . . . No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."

How different the future of Europe might have been if he had made a similar utterance concerning Fascism! Instead, as Cardinal of Milan, he gave Mussolini's blackshirts a place of honor in the unveiling ceremonies for the Unknown Warrior in Milan Cathedral, and studiously refrained from attacking the political principles of the blackshirts. (I lived in Milan during the first summer of Fascist rule.)

The noted Catholic scholar, Professor D. A. Binchy of University College, Dublin, in his "Church and State in Fascist Italy" (p. 85), says of Pius XI: "He believed that democracy was too feeble and incoherent to serve as a dam against the Communist tide, and a strange irony made him turn to the new form of authoritarian government as offering the only hope of successful resistance." In a nation which was nominally 99 per cent Catholic, the church probably had the power to destroy Fascism at the source, but chose, instead, acquiescence and, in the end, cooperation.

While Pius XI did not specifically endorse Fascism in the twenties, he came so close to it that the distinction was scarcely noticeable. On December 20, 1926, he declared that Mussolini was "the man sent by Providence," and his successor as Cardinal Archbishop of Milan called Mussolini "the New Constantine" (Binchy, p. 673). In the United States, as Professors Gaetano Salvemini and George LaPiana have pointed out in their "What to Do with Italy," the highest American cardinals echoed the praises of the Italian church for Mussolini. The Bishop of Cleveland called him the "man of destiny," and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, who had received a high Fascist decoration, exalted him as "a genius in the field of government, given to Italy by God." Cardinal Hayes received four Fascist decorations, and also responded with gratitude.

Throughout the world, in this period, Catholic writers echoed the Fascist disparagement of democracy without rebuke from their superiors. In 1931, England's most noted Catholic propagandist, Hilaire Belloc, said in his "Essays of a Catholic" (p. 242), in describing Italy, that "the anti-Catholic and Masonic organizations have been effectually got rid of by the happy suppression of Parliaments and all their sham authority, which is but a mask for a few rich men controlling a corrupt machine." Thirteen years after Mussolini came to power, another noted British Catholic, Christopher Dawson, who has been made a member of the American Catholic Academy, said in his "Religion and the Modern State" (p. 134):

> . . . there seems to be no doubt that the Catholic social ideas set forth in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI have far more affinity with those of fascism than with those of either liberalism or socialism. In the same way, it is clear that Catholicism is by no means hostile to the authoritarian ideal of the state. Against the liberal doctrines of the divine rights of majorities and the unrestricted freedom of opinion, the church has always maintained the principles of authority and hierarchy and high conception of the prerogatives of the state. The ruler is not simply the representative of the people, he has an independent authority and a direct responsibility to God. His primary duty is not to fulfill the wishes of the people but to govern justly and well, and so long as he fulfills this duty any resistance on the part of the people is a grave sin.

In Italy, the "grave sin" of resistance to Mussolini by individual Catholics soon came to an end when the Pope jettisoned the unofficial Catholic Popular Party, which had been led by the priest Don Sturzo, and finally signed the Concordat and Lateran Treaty with Mussolini's government on February 11, 1929.

In perspective, the Lateran Treaty seems to be one of the most important and one of the most tragic events in modern history. It gave Mussolini that confidence and respectability he needed to begin his campaign of international Fascist aggression. In return for official peace, Mussolini gave the Vatican some very handsome concessions: (1) the establishment of the Vatican state, with its extraterritorial rights, and a $90,000,000 bonus for old papal territories; (2) the adoption of a rule that "apostate or suspended priests may not be employed or continued in employment as teachers or in any office or post which brings them into

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direct contact with the public"; (3) separate prisons for priests convicted of crime; (4) the reestablishment of "the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion as the sole religion of the state"; (5) Catholic teaching of religion in the public schools with the right of Catholic bishops to remove any teacher of religion for heresy; (6) partial payment of the salaries of priests from the public treasury.

The treaty, of course, was dishonored by Mussolini almost as soon as its ink was dry, and the Pope then scolded the Dictator with a few sorrowful and indignant phrases in his encyclical "Non Abbiamo Bisogno." It is this encyclical that is used in American Catholic propaganda to prove that the Pope was anti-Fascist. Actually, the Pope rebuked Mussolini not as a Fascist but as an anti-clerical. He never bothered to condemn the Dictator for murdering Italian labor leaders or suppressing the democratic rights of Italy's masses or destroying the freedom of the press and of teaching. His only genuine anti-Fascist—as distinguished from anti-liberal—utterance was his attack on Mussolini's anti-Semitic laws of 1938. By that time, his experience with Hitler had taught him that he could not afford to condone racial fanaticism.

The "Reform" of Soviet Music

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, March 24

THE acute problem of Russian music has raised many issues of artistic and political practice and philosophy deserving the closest study by anyone interested in Soviet *Weltanschauung* during the present transition from socialism to communism. The cases of Akhmatova and Zoshchenko, representatives of "unworthy" types of literature, were different; one wrote egocentric love lyrics, the other, "frivolous" short stories. The implications of the attack on these two writers were no doubt far-reaching but, in themselves, Akhmatova and Zoshchenko were not important. It is a different story when several Russian composers, including four with established world reputations—Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, and Miaskovsky—are so energetically denounced.

The denunciations raise big issues. To the "aesthetes," nearly all the work of Prokofiev and Shostakovich is immensely interesting. The point, however, is that "writing for an audience of aesthetes" must stop. Musical "élites" are unwanted. "Traditionalism" must not be despised. Music exists for stimulation and emotional enjoyment and must not be made a refined intellectual pursuit for the subtle and sophisticated. Modern composers should write music that will be easily enjoyed by radio listeners; lately, for instance, the radio has been giving excellent examples of what the people want—Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov, popular Soviet songs, and melodious extracts from some of the better Western composers like Gounod and Massenet.

There is an interesting condemnation of past practices at the Kharkov Conservatory in *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* a newspaper for young Communists. Most of the conservatory's student composers had been corrupted by "formalist influences" and had not been given sufficient ideological training. Instead, they were encouraged by their teachers to "cultivate harmonic resourcefulness," were "divorced from life," and "cultivated a taste for 'pure music.' " The article concludes that it would be a good thing if these young composers were given an opportunity to play their works at factory meetings, so as to get a clearer idea of what the people want.

The Composers' Union has had numerous plenary meetings at which—as in the press—violent attacks have been made on some music critics. Particularly singled out was L. Mazel, who has written, "The real language of modern Soviet music is the language of Shostakovich." The popular composer, Tikhon Khrennikov, while presiding over a recent meeting of the union, declared that the following works were decadent and formalist, and therefore failures: Prokofiev's Sixth Sonata and Sixth Symphony, Shostakovich's Eighth and Ninth Symphonies (the "aesthetes," on the other hand, put the Eighth well above the Seventh "Leningrad" Symphony), Khachaturian's Symphonic Poem, Miaskovsky's "Patheticia" Overture and "The Kremlin at Night" Cantata, Popov's Third Symphony, and so forth. Khrennikov then called for socialist realism in music.

But *Soviet Art,* the organ of the government's Art Committee, recently published long articles by Khrennikov and Koval, another composer who now plays a leading organizational part in the Composers' Union, making it clear that the work of the composers accused of formalism and other sins in the Central Committee's decree must in no way be thrown overboard

ALEXANDER WERTH is Moscow correspondent for THE NATION *and the Manchester* GUARDIAN. *Since Mr. Werth wrote, the New York* Times *reported that Dmitri Shostakovich had been forced to give up his chair at the Moscow Conservatory of Music, and that the composer, Vissarion Y. Shebalin, had been ousted from the directorship of the conservatory.*

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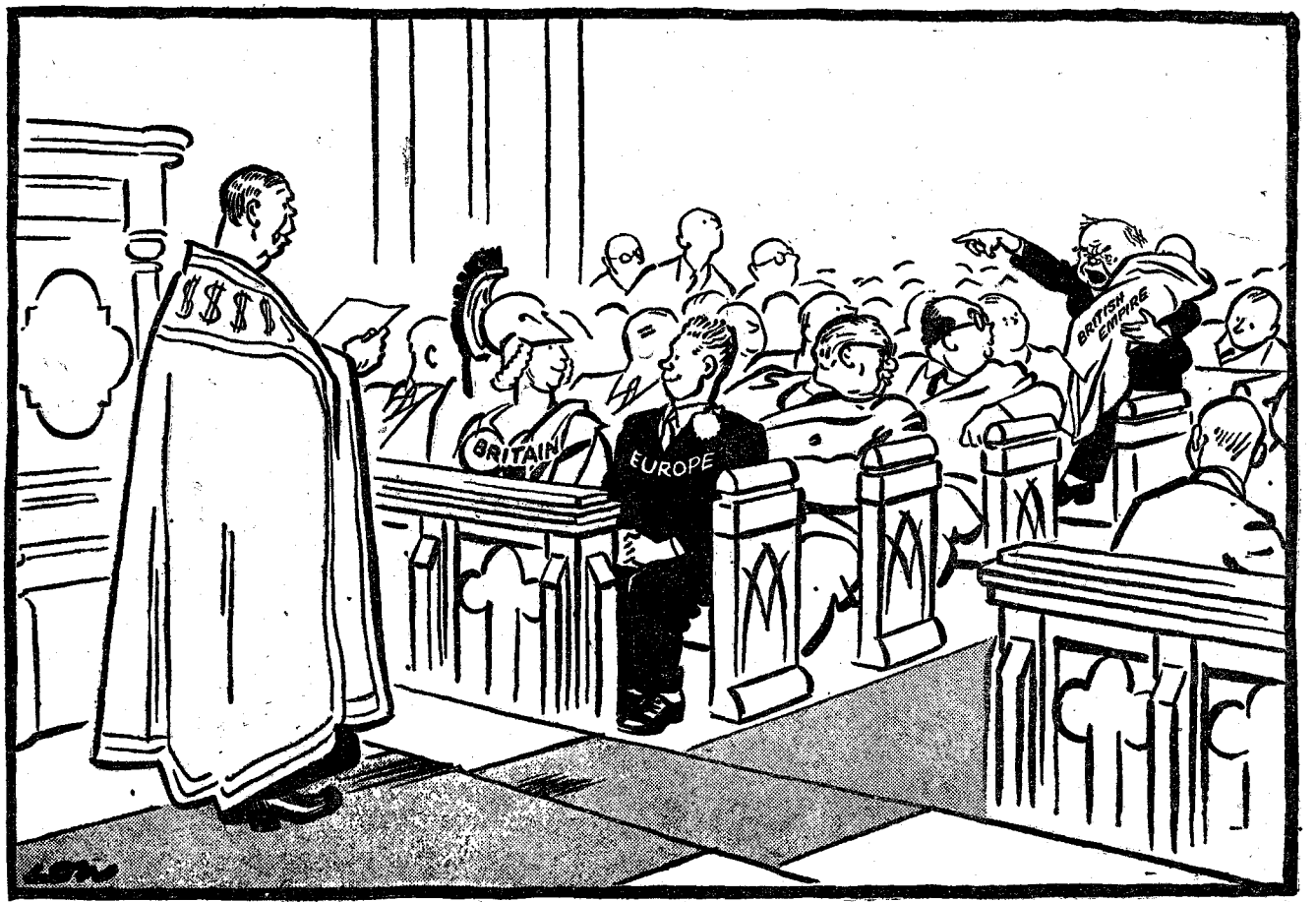
en bloc. Thus, Koval says of Shostakovich, "He has not given his country as much as was to have been expected from his immense talent," but then speaks very highly of the composer's Fifth Symphony, the first part of his "Leningrad" Symphony, and of his piano quintet. If Shostakovich went wrong in much of his other work, it was for a number of reasons: the "totally uncritical" chorus of praise he received from the critics; his attraction, in the earlier stages of his career, to "decadent Western art"; his strong resistance, under the influence of some critics, to "Russianism"—which, it is hoped, he will now cultivate. It is emphasized, moreover, that he was "unhealthily interested in world fame." He was also inclined to become introspective, and his philosophic meanderings produced "shapeless" symphonies like the Eighth, which, incidentally, lasts over an hour, "and feels like two."

The charge is repeated in another form by Khrennikov, who says that Shostakovich is frequently "un-Russian." "Often he uses abstract and ciphered musical language which contains images and emotions alien to Soviet realist art, and a highly strung emotionalism belonging to a world of repulsive pathological phenomena." And "one of the forms of this escapism in the work of Shostakovich is found in his 'neo-classical' tendencies, in which the intonations and methods of Bach, Handel, and Haydn are used in a new, distorted way." (This presumably refers to his beautiful but extremely gloomy new Third Quartet.) Many of the failings of Soviet composers, notably Shostakovich, are attributed by Khrennikov to the "Western craze" that existed in Russia in the twenties and early thirties—the great interest in Alban Berg, Hindemith, Schoenberg, and so forth; as for Prokofiev, "he never quite got rid of Stravinsky and Diaghilev; their 'Petrouchka' was typical of their grotesque, satirical, and distorted vision of Russia."

On the whole, Khrennikov's analysis—if one accepts certain premises—is relatively fair. He does not specifically praise any modern works by the "accused" composers, but those compositions he singles out for condemnation are relatively limited in interest. He singles out only four works of Miaskovsky's immense output—adding, however, that Miaskovsky has been concentrating almost entirely on instrumental work, to the neglect of vocal music. Prokofiev is blamed for his vocally unsatisfactory opera, "War and Peace," and for certain eccentricities. Thus, his "Ode on the End of the War" is written for an "incredible" orchestra of four pianos, eight harps, sixteen double-basses, and no other strings, and is "unfit to be played by any orchestra outside Moscow." (Khachaturian's latest symphonic poem has parts for twenty-four trombones.) Khrennikov is also dissatisfied with Prokofiev's Sixth Symphony. Of Shostakovich's recent work, he singles out for blame the "interminably" long Eighth and the "light-hearted" Ninth symphonies; the latter, appearing just after the end of the war, carried no vital mes-



"I FORBID THE BANNS!" London *Express*—Canada Wide

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sage, and "was a disappointment even to foreign listeners." Characteristically, perhaps, Khrennikov does not say anything of Shostakovich's most recent chamber music except that "there has been an exaggerated concentration on chamber music, addressed to a handful of connoisseurs, and a complete neglect of musical forms appealing to the mass of the people, such as opera."

The impression among many here is that the leading composers may now be encouraged to get on with their work, but always bearing certain "basic principles" in mind. One suggestion made is that Shostakovich would do well to "revise" his Eighth Symphony and cut it down to half its present length. Khrennikov himself, still a very young man, has replaced the "over-tolerant" Khachaturian as head of the Organizational Committee of the Composers' Union, and is the author of two light and tuneful symphonies, some popular songs, some pleasant film music, and the songs written for a 1941 production of Shakespeare's "Much Ado About Nothing." It may, however, be too early to consider his "mild" article as conclusive. Mr. Lebedev, the new head of the Art Committee, still sounded in a very uncompromising mood at the recent meeting of the Moscow Conservatory and at that of the Bolshoi Theater.

The Farmer's New Economy

BY JAMES HEARST

Cedar Falls, Iowa, March 31

A CHICAGO banker visited the cornbelt recently. He asked an Iowa farmer if the farmers expected continued government support of farm prices after the Steagall amendment expired at the end of this year. The farmer said, yes. The banker said he didn't like high food prices, especially when they resulted from government intervention. The farmer offered sympathy, but pointed out that the banker, having pressed for government *non*-intervention at the time of the demise of OPA, was at least partly responsible for high commodity prices. Besides, he added, government support of farm prices has had little if any effect on food prices. Except in two or three instances, it has not been put in force since the enactment of the Steagall amendment. In his opinion, price supports have had chiefly a psychological function: they have given the farmer a feeling of security, a feeling that there is a safety net spread beneath him if he should lose his footing on the high-price high wire.

Still, if the farmer can have his way, there will be no more cheap food. His income during the past seven years has allowed him at last to taste the benefits of the industrial revolution. Running water, electricity, bathrooms, and furnaces have been installed for the first time in many farm homes. Out in the yards and fields, new elevators, manure loaders, and automatic and hydraulic mechanisms are taking some of the backache out of farming. These machines have been in short supply, but where they have been obtained, there has been a revolution in farm living.

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The family farm is no longer the family farm. The men do the work now. The farmer has money to buy the machinery and hire help, the time to learn new methods and techniques. Now, farm children go to school for nine months of the year; many of them have an opportunity to go to high school and some to college. They have time for play, for social affairs, for 4-H clubs. Farm women have time and energy for club meetings, for community projects, for reading and study and concerts.

These improvements in the lot of a farm family have been limited to areas where the soil is fertile, the crop yields above average, and the gross income per acre is high. Even in these areas, most of the benefits accruing to the farmer are due mainly to high food prices resulting from the war. This is the blot on our national conscience. In spite of that, it must be said that in all farming sections the rise in income caused by the war has made for a better economic balance between people of agriculture and those of industry.

DOES anyone then think the farmer is willing to go back to the production of cheap food; that his family is willing to return to drudgery?

The informed farmer realizes that he is at the mercy of an industrialized economy. The factors most important to his economic welfare are those over which he has least influence. There is very little he can do to keep factories busy and wages high enough to insure a rich market for the things he grows. Therefore—as industrial labor and management have done before him—he takes his problem to the government.

Congress has held a great many hearings on the farm-price question, and farmers have had an opportunity to speak their piece before the House and Senate agriculture committees, but as yet no long-term

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farm program has been adopted as a substitute for the war-time parity legislation. When one is adopted, it will very likely take one of two forms. It may follow past practice, and endeavor to peg prices on the basis of a unit of the commodity which is in distress. That is, the program may be designed so that the price of a bushel of wheat, or of a pound of live pork, will be maintained at a predetermined level; in this manner, the Steagall amendment provides price maintenance at 90 per cent of parity.

Lately, however, enthusiasm has been generated for a different approach to the farm program. This approach concerns itself with farm *income* rather than farm prices. It takes into consideration the *amount* of the commodity produced, along with the price. Thus, in years of high production, prices would be permitted to adjust to lower levels, until the amount of farm income (price times volume) would be approximately the same as in years of short crops but higher prices. As a long-term program, this makes a good deal of sense to many farmers.

Although the tendency among economists and sociologists today is to regard any food surplus a temporary one, due to the fact that 200,000,000 people have been added to the world since the war began, the new farm program will undoubtedly tackle the question of the distribution of surpluses. Farmers, who feel a moral as well as an economic responsibility for the production of food, nevertheless have a high regard for their time and effort, and they are also becoming sharply conscious of the serious threat of soil depletion. They do not want to have their products go to waste. Yet no one expects a repetition of the emergency measures of the early thirties. There will be no plans for limiting production in the new program. The emphasis now is on a full production *consistent with sound farming practice.*

A word of warning: The farmer is not going to abandon the parity concept until the commodity-price level is brought under control. He may want parity overhauled, brought up to date, or given a moving base, but he won't give it up. It may have its shortcomings, but the farmer worked hard to get the principle accepted and he is not going to let go of it until he is sure of something better.

Finally, in his new farm program, the farmer is going to insist stubbornly that his prices be stabilized at a level balancing that of the things he buys. This means that he is no longer willing to subsidize the industrial and urban population. From now on, management will have to pay wages sufficient to insure high purchasing power to workers. As far as the farmer is concerned, the day of cheap food is over.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

Isotopes on Strings

THERE is some recent sharp criticism from Britain of the terms on which our Atomic Energy Commission is distributing those important new research tools, radio isotopes. In the *Scientific Worker,* the journal of England's largest organization of scientists, the Association of Scientific Workers, Dr. D. G. Arnott, a physicist on the staff of the government's Medical Research Council, objects to our demand for detailed statements on proposed uses, laboratory facilities, and so forth from foreign applicants for isotopes.

"No isotopes higher than bismuth are to be exported; nothing fissile [fissionable]; nothing of use for bomb or power production," Dr. Arnott says. "Therefore, the defense of the United States, which might alone have justified such a catechism, is not even remotely involved. In plain English, the [American policy] means that the isotopes will not be distributed on an ordinary commercial basis, but will be subject to political control. It is a principle with which we are becoming unhappily familiar. In the present instance, the United States government claims that this is the procedure it follows for its own nationals. Evidently, it now proposes to treat all other nationals as its own, blandly by-passing existing governments, although willing to utilize their services as forwarding clerks. . . . For this country, the position is humiliating. . . . Incredible as it may seem in Washington, we are still perfectly able to exercise intelligent control over the use of isotopes in our own country . . ."

The A. E. C. also requires foreign laboratories using American isotopes to publish their results freely, "in accordance with well-established scientific tradition." "It is 'in accordance with scientific tradition,'" argues Dr. Arnott, ". . . for there to be *mutual* exchange of information. It is the destruction of this tradition, largely by the United States government, that world science now mourns. . . . We are offered a one-way picking of brains. The United States will supply the isotopes—if it approves of the work (and of the government). The users are obliged to disclose the results of their work. But nothing is said about similar United States obligations . . .

"Today, we in this country are unable to buy or borrow our own plutonium, from our own installations at Chalk River, Ontario, because of an agreement with the United States. The most charitable course is to hope that this sort of thing, being as un-American as the infamous committee, will in time pass away like a bad dream."

From where I sit in New York, it is not difficult to understand why the A. E. C. established "un-American" restrictions on the export of isotopes. Under the Atomic Energy Act, and amidst the current anti-Russian hysteria, the commission could hardly have done otherwise. But it must be realized that, if we continue to treat European scientists as irresponsible adolescents, we shall soon cease sharing the fruits of their invaluable knowledge.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that only the following sixteen countries have applied for and received

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isotope shipments, or clearance for shipments: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Union of South Africa. Perhaps the reason that no applications have been received, to date, from countries in the Soviet sphere, is that they feel their applications would be denied. Yet A. E. C. regulations in this matter set no political specifications. For its part, however, the commission is undoubtedly pleased not to have to face the issue now.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS
BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Inter-American Economics

THE Ninth International Conference of the American States, which has just assembled at Bogotá, will cover many political topics outside the scope of this page. But I am concerned with economic and financial problems that are bound to find their way onto the agenda and likely to provide the occasion of some of the most serious debates of the meeting.

With the advent of World War II, an Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee was created, and this has now become the Inter-American Economic and Social Council—a permanent organ of the Pan-American Union. Its function is "to promote the economic and social well-being of the American nations through effective cooperation among them for the better utilization of their natural resources, their agricultural and industrial development, and the elevation of the standards of living of their people." At the special Rio de Janeiro conference of foreign ministers last summer, the council was requested to draft a basic economic agreement establishing general principles for consideration at Bogotá. Another special conference, meeting probably at Buenos Aires later this year, is scheduled to discuss specific methods by which the governments, individually and collectively, may give effect to these principles.

That may suggest that discussion at Bogotá will be on a rather theoretical plane. Many of the Latin American states, however, are facing immediate economic problems whose solution brooks no delay and they are likely to insist that the conference get down to brass tacks. One such problem is the practical implementation of inter-American cooperation in the E. R. P.

On the face of it, E. R. P. appears to offer considerable benefits to our Latin American neighbors. A substantial fraction of the funds to be appropriated will be allotted for the purchase of commodities outside the United States, thus relieving the strain on our own domestic economy. In the first year of the program, it has been estimated, something like $1,700,000,000 will be paid for food and raw materials shipped from Latin America. Without this arrangement, exports to Europe would either be drastically reduced or paid for largely in inconvertible currencies. Hence the use of E. R. P. dollars in this way serves to underwrite for Latin American countries a vitally important market and to insure that their imports from the United States will not be curtailed by lack of dollars. Why, then, do many Latin Americans look with jaundiced eyes on E. R. P. and suggest that it has harmful long-term implications for their economic welfare?

The trouble, apparently, is that they see the program as tending to freeze them in their pre-war status as "economic colonies," suppliers of food and raw materials for advanced industrial nations. They are apprehensive lest it should prove an obstacle to realization of their own industrial ambitions. Such suspicions were, unfortunately, fostered at Rio last year when Secretary Marshall declared that the United States was too involved in assisting European recovery to consider large-scale economic cooperation with Latin America.

In the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 16, Mr. Sumner Welles wrote:

> The initial mistake was made when we failed to seize the opportunity to make of the European recovery plan a hemispheric, rather than a purely United States program. Such a broad-gauge project . . . would have enabled all of the American republics to know where and how they could profitably sell their surpluses during the next four years. . . . Such a program would have encouraged the eventual development of a hemispheric economy. It would have discouraged the present tendency toward self-sufficient nationalism.

Perhaps some of the damage done by this error in tactics can be repaired at Bogotá. It ought to be possible to explain to our southern neighbors that E. R. P. will not, in fact, prevent them from obtaining many of the capital goods they require for their development programs. Last year, 40 per cent of our exports to Latin America took the form of machinery, engines, and other capital equipment. The total value was $1,700,000,000, compared with the $1,000,000,000 in similar goods which Europe is due to receive from us in the first year of E. R. P. Consequently, there is no reason to anticipate a decline in Latin America's import volume of capital goods as a result of priorities assigned to Marshall Plan countries. Our neighbors should be able to continue to procure a physical volume of industrial equipment about three times greater than their pre-war receipts.

But even so large an increase may not meet all needs. Latin America is committed to industrialization in a hurry, for it must try to raise the low standard of living of its rapidly increasing population. It is not content to rely for capital on current earnings. It is looking to more advanced nations for financial as well as technical aid.

Another question likely to arise at Bogotá, therefore, is the extent and nature of United States investment in Latin America. American business men, with State Department backing, suggest that the need can best be met by providing a "favorable climate" for private investment. But memories of exploitation by "Yanqui" private enterprise have not yet faded. Latin Americans fear that to win the confidence of New York's investment bankers they might have to surrender too much of their economic sovereignty. What they hope for is a "Marshall Plan for the Americas," an inter-American development scheme backed by the governments according to their resources. This inevitably means heavy contributions from the United States Treasury—a thought not pleasing to Washington. With two such opposing conceptions of foreign investment in the field, the debate on this subject at Bogotá promises to be long and lively.

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Del Vayo — The French Battle of Prices

Paris, March 30

FEBRUARY passed without the major catastrophe observers had predicted; now the political prophets are warning that the crucial month will be April. Actually, France is in a state of continuing crisis that will not be resolved until the "battle of prices" is won. The cost-of-living issue dominates the entire political picture. Léon Jouhaux of Force Ouvrière (the new, non-Communist labor federation) has been urging Premier Schuman to obtain an immediate, substantial cut in prices "if France is to avoid the most serious conflicts." During the last few weeks, reductions have been noted in certain foods—fresh meat, eggs, vegetables—but only in a few scattered sections of the country. On the whole, prices are still at a level where the monthly salary of a worker with more than two children barely covers his needs for a fortnight. I have eaten in the homes of French workers, bringing most of the food myself, and I think it would be a good experience for some of my American colleagues to do likewise: they would be less ready to attribute strikes and labor demonstrations exclusively to the machinations of the Cominform.

By conservative estimates, prices have gone up 20 per cent since the beginning of the winter. Americans may not consider this extreme, but they must remember that French workers *started* the winter with salaries already a third below the subsistence minimum demanded by the General Federation of Labor (C. G. T.) and that the increases granted in December were swallowed up almost immediately by new price rises. Force Ouvrière opposes an immediate wage rise on the ground that the government should be given a chance to force prices down; but discontent among the workers will make a continued wage freeze impossible unless living costs go down and stay down.

One should not minimize the obstacles the government faces in trying to put across a successful financial-economic deflation program. In the first place, despite appearances, René Mayer is not as audacious and imaginative a Finance Minister as, say, his Italian colleague, Einaudi, who began by telling his countrymen, "Now you'll see what a crisis really is!" and then actually went ahead and precipitated one in order to emerge as the man who saved the situation. In the second place, the situation is far more complex in France than in Italy.

France's dilemma is illustrated by the devaluation and the restoration of free trading in gold decreed two months ago. It is still too early to judge the experiment, but the first enthusiasm for the new measures has already subsided. To begin with, gold prices have not dropped on the free market: the black-market quotation for the Napoleon was 3,550 francs; today, the Napoleon is hovering between 4,000 and 4,300. Since the risk of clandestine transactions has now disappeared, the price has really risen more than a thousand francs. This is due in part to the fact that people with hidden dollar reserves began to sell as soon as restrictions were lifted because of a rumor that the American Treasury was going to withdraw notes in denominations up to and including $100 from circulation. But undoubtedly the main reason is that the largest holders of gold, the farmers, are reluctant to trade it for paper money. When the French government ordered all 5,000-franc notes turned in, the farmers' holdings accounted for 21,000,000 of the 58,000,000 notes in circulation. After this experience, they can hardly be expected to part readily with their gold. The 5,000-franc operation jolted the average Frenchman's confidence in his money. In the final analysis, the question of confidence is political.

Today, the Schuman government ordered a series of price reductions designed to meet the demands of the Force Ouvrière and head off a new wave of strikes threatened by the C. G. T. No one can doubt that the Cabinet is serious in its determination to force living costs down. The price of coal for domestic use has been cut 10 per cent; electric rates, 7 per cent. Woolen goods are down 10 per cent, workers' shoes, 5 per cent, and various household supplies from 5 to 10 per cent. These are only a few in a list of price cuts affecting both city workers and farmers. Felix Gaillard, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, promises a further series of cuts later in the week and clearly hopes that deflation will get under way.

This, of course, is the question. A similar attack on living costs a year ago failed completely, and was followed by a sharp rise in both prices and wages. This time, several new favorable factors are present. An excellent harvest is expected and coal, for the first time, will be available in pre-war quantities. The early prospect of E. R. P. dollars may also improve the economic temper. But if prices are to continue to fall and living standards to rise, France must have a political climate very different from the present one of internal division and instability. What is urgently called for is a broad coalition government in which the working class, principal artisan of recovery, will feel a sense of participation. The Radical Socialists, a key element in the parliamentary majority, were more impressed by the Gaullist demonstrations which took place a few weeks ago at Compiègne and Royal-Lieu than by M. Schuman's appeal to the parties to rally around his Cabinet in support of the financial program. After De Gaulle has offered himself for the Premiership, the Gaullist group in the National Assembly, seventy-two strong, is likely to become more numerous. In any case, even without waiting for a parliamentary majority, De Gaulle may succeed in bending the Schuman government to his wishes.

The left wing of the coalition is also divided. The papers have recently carried a manifesto of a new organization, the "Rassemblement démocratique révolutionnaire," signed by the Socialist deputies Badiou, Lamine-Gueye, Pouyet, Rabier, and by three members of the Socialist executive, Rous, Arrès-Lapoque, and Boutbien. This is taken as an indication that even some of Léon Blum's most faithful supporters are beginning to be apprehensive lest the threatened absorption of the Third Force by the Gaullists touch off a rank-and-file Socialist revolt in the provinces.

Schuman may hold on for another month or two, but his government is still in an extremely precarious position; it is fighting the battle of prices with only a slender chance of victory.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Farley and Roosevelt

JIM FARLEY'S STORY: THE ROOSEVELT YEARS. By James A. Farley. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

THERE isn't a snobbish bone in his body," Jim Farley writes of Roosevelt. ". . . For a man born to wealth and luxury as he was, and also to high social position, it would be impossible for him to conceal his real feelings, at least to those around him, if he really had a feeling of superiority. . . . I can honestly say I have never observed anything of the kind in Roosevelt. . . . The entire family seems to have a happy faculty of choosing companions for what they are and not because of their social position."

But that was in 1938. A decade later Farley finds solace for his own fall from grace in a remark he attributes—apparently incorrectly—to Mrs. Roosevelt: "Franklin finds it hard to relax with people who aren't his social equals." This contrast suggests the difference in tone between "Behind the Ballots" and this revealing, bitter, and immensely sad book, "Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years."

Farley's book is revealing in its detailed picture of democratic politics and of the shrewd, hard-hitting, and often ruthless way Franklin D. Roosevelt played the political game. The portrait of Roosevelt the politician may shock his idolators; but no one should discount either Farley's factual account of Roosevelt's performance or his grudging admiration for its success. At times, his account almost gives the impression that Farley, Hull, and Garner were a troop of Boy Scouts confounded by a tricky and unscrupulous city slicker. There are also many fascinating glimpses of the second term: Henry Wallace, for example, complaining to Farley in November, 1938, that the President was leaning too much to the left.

But the book is quite as revealing about Farley himself as it is about Roosevelt. Why did the two men break up? Aside from the snobbery question, as to which Farley's own testimony is conflicting, and aside from Roosevelt's repeated failures to write letters thanking Farley for his many and valuable services, the chief cause of the break, as Farley sees it, was Roosevelt's violation of the political code. The original sin lay in the 1938 purge and the President's intervention in what seemed to Farley "local" political matters. "When Roosevelt began neglecting the rules of the game," Farley writes, "I began to have doubts. When he persisted in violating the rules, I lost faith in him."

But was this the real reason? Farley is an honest man, and his statement must be accepted as his own best interpretation of the break. But his very honesty means that his book may supply evidence for other interpretations. In that quality of honesty, indeed, lies the book's profound sadness. For, in addition to his great capacities as a political organizer and as an administrator, in addition to his qualities of truthfulness, loyalty, and personal decency, Farley had a dangerous vanity and very little sense of public policy. His book amply documents the two characteristics which seem to have been his undoing.

"Jim Farley's Story" discloses, as no other book does, the bitterness of the struggle for the succession in 1940. In particular, it discloses the central role played by John Nance Garner in stirring up the opposition against the New Deal. The book makes it look highly probable that the Southern conservatives picked on Farley as the weak link in Roosevelt's control of the North. Certainly, as early as 1936 Garner was busy trying to mobilize Farley's vanity against his loyalty. "Could it be," the Texan would remark to Farley of the President, "he's a little jealous of your popularity in the party?"

The well-poisoning activity continued through the second term. "Many, many times," Farley writes, "Vice-President Garner told me that whenever he praised me to the President, Roosevelt would look at the ceiling, at the floor, or out of the window. . . . Garner said that the President, on such occasions, never echoed the latter's friendly reference." Thus Garner, Farley, and Cordell Hull began their scheming against the New Dealers. Thus Farley's ambitions were shrewdly excited till he thought himself a man who could become President, Vice-President with Hull, or, at the very least, the organizer of the nation's productive capacity for war. The Southern plot reached its climax when Carter Glass nominated Farley at Chicago in 1940—a convention which Farley reports bitterly and effectively in his book.

Vanity doubtless softened up Farley for the Southern conservatives. His essential indifference to issues of public policy completed the job. Jimmy Byrnes, for example, was no less devoted to the political code than Farley; yet his lack of overweening vanity and his deep respect for problems of policy made him stick by Roosevelt. At no point in "Jim Farley's Story" is an issue of policy discussed at any length on its merits. Farley seems really to believe that Hull or himself would have been as good war Presidents as Roosevelt, if not better—as if personal honesty and party fidelity were the only qualities required for success in high office.

"I always reflect," Farley wrote of Roosevelt in "Behind the Ballots," "upon the fact that the people elected him President, not I, and upon the further fact that whatever position I have been fortunate enough to attain in public life has been due to him and not vice-versa." He stopped reflecting upon this fact sometime after 1938. "Everyone agreed I was more responsible than any other single man for his being in the White House," he now writes. ". . . Had it not been for the man many have credited me with putting in the White House, I might have been Vice-President or even President."

Edward Roddan, who helped Mr. Farley in the earlier book, did, I believe, more justice to an attractive personality than Walter Trohan of the Chicago *Tribune*, who has incorporated altogether too much of his paper's spitefulness into "Jim Farley's Story."

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

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A Matter of Style

FOUR STUDIES IN LOYALTY. By Christopher Sykes. William Sloane Associates. $3.

THIS is one of those books which remind us that there is a kind of good writing of which only Englishmen seem capable. Apparently, it is the author's first published volume and, though the jacket tells us little about him, it seems a reasonable guess that writing has not been his chief occupation. Yet the first thing of which one becomes aware is the fact that he has mastered a style at once personal and at the same time in a tradition. Harold Nicolson exhibits many of the same qualities and Lytton Strachey, though more flamboyant and eccentric, had them too. Obviously, they belong not only to a certain country and a certain civilization but to a certain class as well.

Of the four sketches, the first concerns the author's uncle, a fantastic and complicated snob who devoted his life and his fortune to amusing his coarse and ungrateful sovereign, Edward VII. The second describes an accomplished Persian rascal whose life was dominated by the fact that he pretended to be, though in fact he was not, "a Balliol man." The third is concerned with one of the author's friends who gave his life to Oriental studies, and the last with a group picture of certain members of the French resistance. In any other hands the subject matter might easily have come to seem merely trivial and even as it is one may possibly protest that the grouping of the four pieces as "studies in loyalty" is just a trifle far fetched. But as Mr. Sykes presents his portraits they become the source of a pure and restful delight. Style is everything—not at all because it consists in decoration or because it is something for which the material merely furnishes an excuse, but because the style is the outward evidence of certain rare and charming qualities of mind which certainly include, along with other nameless things, candor, detachment, breadth of sympathy, and a certain quiet determination to see things clearly both from one's own point of view and from the point of view of the subject as well.

Such writing is as far from the experimental modernism of most of what is today called "serious writing" as it is from the shrill hortatory tone of most contemporary journalism. In some respects it is no doubt more closely related to the best eighteenth-century style than to anything else and perhaps it is possible only to those who have not entirely lost the sense of certain absolutes which the eighteenth-century intellectual so firmly held on to. Mr. Sykes is no escapist from the modern world. He is obviously liberal in his sympathies and by no means exempt from that fear of doom with which we are all affected. But perhaps just because he was evidently brought up as a member of a cultivated and privileged class he can, at moments, recapture virtues which members of that class could, at their best, make peculiarly their own.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Theme and Variations

AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE. The United States Through Foreign Eyes. Edited, With an Introduction and Notes, by Henry Steele Commager. Random House. $4.

A COLLECTION OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA BY VARIOUS HANDS. Edited by George Bradshaw. Farrar, Straus and Company. $4.

WITHIN the body of institutions and ideals clothed by that vicious abstraction American, there beats something that is neither a heart of gold nor a carburetor. Just what this throbbing thing is appears to be doubtful, but its variety and energy, as well as its existence, are fully documented by two recent anthologists of the American spirit, Henry S. Commager and George Bradshaw.

Indeed, so great is the variety and energy of the American spirit that these two books, presumably on the same topic, have almost nothing in common. The most obvious and least significant difference is in the authors represented. Professor Commager's selections are all drawn from the writings of men who are, technically at least, foreigners. Mr. Bradshaw's less exclusive club includes natives, visitors, exiles, and squatters. Mr. Bradshaw, in addition, is more generous in respect to subject matter. His interest, if we can believe a prefatory letter that seems too nostalgic to be genuine, is in physical America. Accordingly, he has chosen pieces describing major American cities, rivers, and roads. The quality of the selections, like that of their natural counterparts, is uneven. In general it may be said that the earlier writers are more satisfactory than

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THE PANGS

Atque ea nimirum quaecumque Acheronte profundo prod ita sunt esse, in vita sunt omnia nobis.

The stone of Sisyphus
Explodes into design;
The water, through the sieve,
Descends in purest line;
And who would think that birds
As huge, as gaunt, as these,
Could open beaks to sing
Such lovely melodies?

The thirst, the hunger, take
Sustenance from the sight
Of water, out of reach,
And apples, red and bright;
The wheel's revolving hum
Diminishes; unbound,
A happy giant strides
Across the springy ground.

All that we thought was hell,
And we therein, forsooth,
Proves, as Lucretius said,
The converse of the truth:
Hell was in us, not we
In hell; we made it so,
Guilty self-punishers,
Who bade the cancer grow.

All nonsense: cut it out,
The wound heals over; see
Water and wheel and rock
And fruit and bird and tree
All separate, all met,
Dear love, dear world, in one
Recovered image, bright
And glorious with sun.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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the moderns. This is not explained simply by the technical superiority of such experts as Melville, Twain, and Henry James. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bradshaw does not show these gentlemen at their best, and in the case of Henry James the editing renders the text almost unintelligible. James despite his syntactical ponderosity is a master of ellipsis, and to cut and paste his work is as unwise as it is irreverent. Nevertheless, despite faulty editing, the superiority manifests itself, for it rests on tone and temperament as well as technique.

The earlier writers are more relaxed. Trollope, for instance, can write simply and directly without seeming trite. But to the moderns, America is evidently "big stuff." To express its import they must be either histrionic like Fitzgerald and D. H. Lawrence, or as absurdly laconic as Hemingway. Furthermore, with the exception of that pixy E. B. White, the modern writers have no eye for detail. As Mrs. Lindbergh observes in an undistinguished memoir, "rapid transportation is robbing us of the realization of life."

Professor Commager, in contrast to Mr. Bradshaw, can take the motor car in stride. His interest is philosophic and his subject, accordingly, is human rather than natural. It is his aim to assemble various answers to Crèvecoeur's weighty question, "What then is the American, this new man?" None of the contestants, and such doughty warriors as Tocqueville, Bryce, Dickens, and Matthew Arnold are in the lists, is able to answer the riddle of the sphinx. But like most problems this one is bowed out rather than solved. For though the last piece in the collection is Victor Vinde's inspiring "The American Believes in Tomorrow," it is actually the statement by two Russians that "America is not the first night of a new play" that writes finis to Commager's book and Crèvecoeur's question.

Yet however true this statement by Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrov, it does not mean that Professor Commager's book, or for that matter America, is passé. For America, to be sure, the debut is over and she must prepare herself for more matronly duties. But in the meanwhile Professor Commager has provided us with an oblique history of an adventuresome girlhood. He has included the witty and penetrating remarks of representative suitors, and if he is too inclined at times to ascribe their complaints to rejected love or superficial acquaintance, he is certainly right in thinking that America has had a successful if not a model nonage.

JOSEPH KRAFT

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

SOCIOLOGISTS who are concerned with the nation's pulse and nerves have probably wondered what it means that a play as morbid as "A Street Car Named Desire" can become a real smash hit. Even I, drama critic though I am, have wondered a bit myself. I like it, I reflected, but I'm not entirely sure that the backbone of a nation ought to. However, my fears have now been set at rest and to any who may have shared them I recommend a visit to "Mr. Roberts" at the Alvin Theater. That comedy drama—upon which I am very belatedly making my report—is almost certain to out-run even Mr. Williams's astonishing tour de force and the vast popular success of the new offering is sufficient evidence that the great public is not dangerously sophisticated. For all that it tosses about a few four-letter words with delighted adolescent abandon, its sentiments are as wholesome as those of the *Youth's Companion* used to be and it will be fully comprehensible to anyone who was able to understand "Abie's Irish Rose."

All this I say with a certain embarrassment, due in part to the sure conviction that I will be to some extent misunderstood. I do not mean to suggest that I am opposed to the wholesome. Indeed, and after the fashion of most people who are approaching the less enviable boundary of middle age, I feel that there is more to be said for it than I used to believe. Neither do I wish to deny that Henry Fonda gives a very engaging performance as the upstanding young lieutenant serving on a cargo ship under the command of a petty tyrant; that the parts are in general well performed; or that Thomas Heggen wrote an effective novel which Joshua Logan helped him to turn into a rather fast-moving play. It is merely that it comes as something of a shock to discover how perfectly a theatrical performance as crude, simple, and completely adolescent as this one is fits the taste of a metropolitan audience; to hear with what gales of deeply satisfied laughter that audience greets comic-strip situations; to overhear between the acts how eagerly it confesses that this is, at last, something about which it has no reservations.

I presume that the original author served on such a ship as that on which the action of his play takes place. I have no desire to assume a condescending attitude toward a spokesman for a group to which we who stayed safely at home owe so much. I realize, moreover, that if I express any doubt that "Mr. Roberts" really gives even an approximately true account of what life on a cargo ship was like, I can be answered by the reminder that while Mr. Heggen actually lived it, I base my opinion on absolute ignorance. But the very qualities which make it possible to fight successfully in a great conflict and to survive it, as Mr. Heggen apparently has, not only without bitterness but with his hearty idealism unimpaired, are not necessarily those which would enable a writer to see below the surface or even to avoid the tendency to represent things less as they were than as the standard clichés permit an author to conveniently misrepresent

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them. After all, it was not Ulysses but Homer who wrote the "Iliad" and Homer was not under the walls at Troy.

No doubt life on a cargo ship does in certain respects resemble life in a boys' school. There is, no doubt, the same tendency for close restraint to magnify small pleasures and to make pranks directed against authority seem more important than they would even to young people who had more scope for normal activities. But it is hard for me to believe that the parallel is quite as close as "Mr. Roberts" makes it appear. Is it really true that a junior officer may spend most of his time lying in his bunk, planning to put marbles in the captain's overhead light so that their rattling will keep him awake or, grown bolder, making a firecracker which he likes to think he will some day toss under that same captain's bunk? And if this *is* true then a really good play on the subject would exhibit some awareness of the preposterousness of this state of affairs and not, as "Mr. Roberts" does, seem to report the events from the point of view of those who are taking part in them. Even the tyrannical captain failed to convince me simply because he did not seem maturely wicked enough, because he did seem less a really cruel man than merely a schoolboy's ogre. Perhaps Mr. Heggen drew him from life or at least thinks that he did; but I cannot escape the suspicion that this captain has got himself confused with the memory of some unpopular headmaster who kept boys after school in much the same way that the captain denies shore leave to his crew. Probably I should add that the two biggest of the many big laughs come at these moments: (a) when an inert pile of drunken sailors is lowered to the deck in a cargo net; (b) when the plotting ensign who has been trying out his firecracker in the laundry appears on stage covered with suds.

If I had seen "Mr. Roberts" when I should have seen it, just after the opening, I suppose that I should have reported upon it as merely good popular entertainment. Coming upon it as I did after all that has been said in the press and elsewhere, I was, as this review no doubt indicates, stunned by its naïveté.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

For those who take Maeterlinck's play solemnly I prescribe a reading of Virgil Thomson's explanation of "Pelléas et Mélisande"—in an article in his book "The Musical Scene"—as what happens when a family of "correct, well-to-do French people" who "don't talk about their business much, but . . . seem to be running some sort of kingdom," and who "understand about love and approve of it" but "cannot deal with any vagueness on the subject," get mixed up with a girl whose "amorous tendencies are both powerful and imprecise," who has "no plan, no conscious motives of any sort," and who "refuses to hold a grudge against anyone at any time"—her comment after a beating from her husband being "I am not happy here." "A lonely girl with a floating libido and no malice toward anyone," Thomson remarks, "can cause lots of trouble in a well-organized family."

Thomson's purpose in writing the article was to show that Mélisande is a difficult rôle to play; mine in referring to it is to show that all the value of the opera is in Debussy's music—principally in what is played by the orchestra. And the performance I heard by the New York City Opera Company at the City Center backed up both Thomson and myself. Whatever may have been the quality of Maggie Teyte's impersonation of Mélisande in her youth, all she could do now was add her implausibility to the other elements—the set, the staging, Fernand Martel's impersonation of Pelléas—of an ineffective dramatic production. Even her singing—with the shred of voice that it was a shock to hear—counted for little in the excellent musical performance; and I found the timbre of Martel's tenor voice unattractive, his sibilants disturbingly affected—though with this one exception the pronunciation of French by everyone in the cast was one of the pleasures of the performance. Other pleasures were the beautiful singing of Carlton Gauld as Golaud, Norman Scott as Arkel, Mary Kreste as Geneviève, and above all the playing of the orchestra under the direction of Jean Morel, whose work I had encountered previously only on some recent

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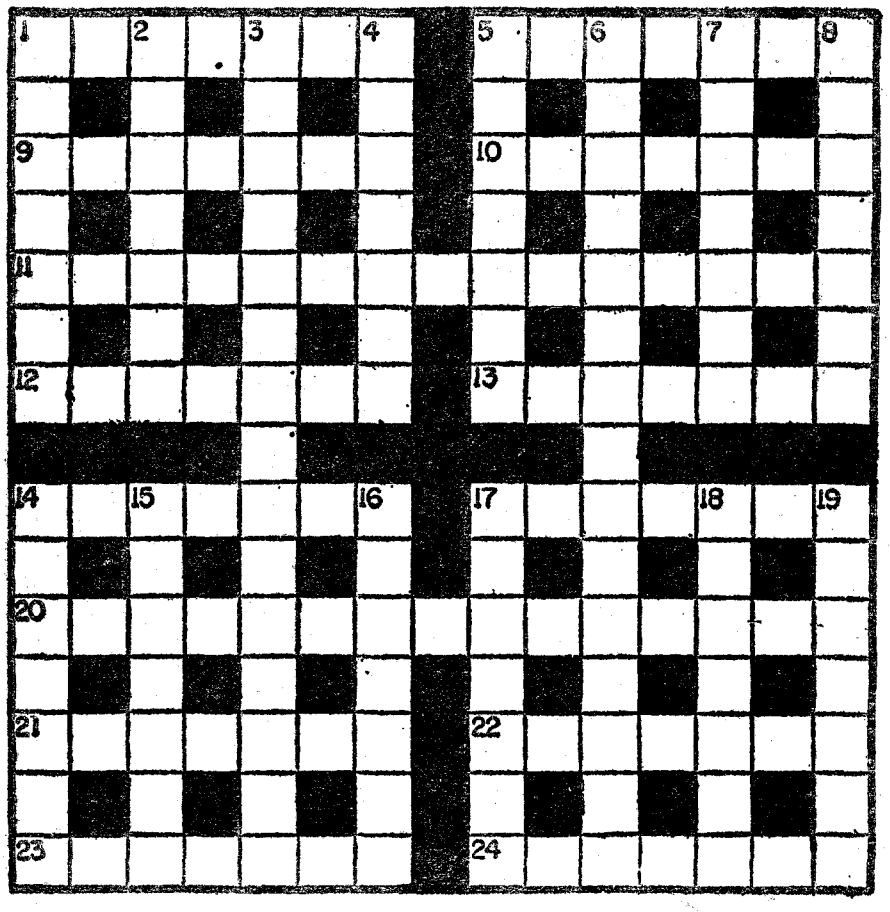
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Remembers what one does when the line is busy. (7)
5 Hindrance to a novice when it comes from a drum. (3, 1, 3)
9 Stick or coat. (7)
10 Regular in the army. (7)
11 Not a quality of brunettes. (15)
12 In play they are found in stones. (7)
13 Its end lies in a kind of oil. (7)
14 Petruchio was evermore this. (7)
17 Made trips after father came back. (7)
20 Fritz doesn't keep it so much now. (5, 2, 3, 5)
21 Not Taft's daughter that Hope supported. (7)
22 Bitter complaint, on the verge of flight. (7)
23 Gone off because it's rest day. (7)
24 When in the air they are flying fortresses? (7)

DOWN

1 Effects a change of lusters. (7)
2 Noise or more noise. (7)
3 Implies neither Truman nor Lee was a dark-horse! (5, 5, 5)
4 Are needed when chiefs make such cries. (7)
5 A verse is never square to the Spanish. (7)
6 One can hardly be constructive without them in most cities. (8, 7)
7 See. (7)
8 Clio, for example, is found in bed here. (7)
14 They die over and over. (7)
15 Find it in havoc to be reconstructed. (7)
16 One of the brethren is almost the subject of a melodrama. (7)
17 I charm a sort of Abyssinian with it. (7)
18 Latin up-bringing, with two eyes at first. (7)
19 Flours. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 257

ACROSS:—1 DARKNESS; 5 DESPOT; 10 NATURAL; 11 LECTURE; 12 EARS; 13 AMONG; 16 RASH; 17 SPICERS; 19 SPOHR; 20 ANTE UP; 22 AIRLINE; 23 FIGARO; 25 DEEDS; 27 DRESSER; 31 HOOD; 32 and 33 IN THE WIND 36 NURTURE; 37 RETAINS; 38 SAMPAN; 39 ASSASSIN.
DOWN:—1 DENIER; 2 RAT-TRAP; 3 NERO; 4 SALAMI; 6 ETCH; 7 PLUMAGE; 8 and 21 THE SHAPE OF THINGS; 9 PLANE; 13 A PRIORI; 14 OCULIST; 15 GRANDEE; 17 SHARD; 18 SNEER; 24 GROGRAM; 26 DAIRIES; 28 ENDED; 29 SHARKS; 30 EDISON; 34 TUBA; 35 ETNA.

RCA Victor records of operatic arias, where it had struck me with its musical style and technical finish.

The dramatic faults of this "Pelléas"—as of the "Don Giovanni" which opened the season at the City Center, and last year's "Salome"—are caused by the inadequacies of the City Center stage, the limitations of the scenic designer and stage director, and the limited funds with which the company has to operate. The wonder is that Mr. Halasz, with these handicaps, should attempt the works at all and achieve what he does—even those faulty dramatic productions, and musical performances good enough to make us ignore the dramatic faults. In the attempt and the achievement he shows an artistic vitality that should shame the people who run the Metropolitan.

One of the opera records I referred to a moment ago is Eleanor Steber's of the King of Thule ballad and Jewel Song from "Faust," which I should have said more about than I had room for in my recent review. The record is noteworthy, for one thing, in offering not just the two pieces but the entire scene of which they are part; and in addition it offers this scene superbly performed: Morel gets the orchestra to frame and support Steber's lovely and musical singing—lovely even with its persistent slight tremolo and the shrill, high note at the end—with playing that is beautifully plastic, sensitive, and finished.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Meaning of Human History"
by Morris R. Cohen
Reviewed by PERRY MILLER

"German Realities"
by Gustav Stolper
Reviewed by GOLO MANN

"Missouri Waltz"
by Maurice H. Milliken
Reviewed by ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

"The Price of Power" by
Hanson Baldwin
Reviewed by FRITZ STERNBERG

Clement Greenberg's Review of The Sculpture of Pevsner and Gabo, unavoidably omitted from this issue, will appear next week.

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